1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu'suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

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A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'cea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya cuke's! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825 824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [224] [262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821 789 276

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

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Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

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Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755 825

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

276

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

756 his wife to accompany him and when she saw him be-
778 gin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which
[278] doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was
[752] poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quartz toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

[412] Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

NONCURATIVE USE OF POWER

(2567-2593)

756 Indian doctors often used their power in spectacu-
789 lar displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the
[114] Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING

(2553-2556, 2566)

821 There were no doctors with rainmaking power among
791 the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed
789 to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by
[756] individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

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There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

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Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

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The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wṭgaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

[224]
[424]
[752]

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[1] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tíša? ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

854
[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] from Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

881

Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.

[752] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men go-
[783] ing to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second men-
[178] struation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).